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443 an adult she takes the responsibility for seeing that a surplus
462 of flour is produced and for arranging the day for the next market.

• 421 By the time a Kwoma has reached adulthood, he has learned the system of property rights of his culture. He knows that garden produce belongs to the person on whose section it was grown, that sago flour belongs to the persons who process it, fish to the women who catch or buy them, a pig to the person who owns or kills it, pork to the person who receives it from the original owner, and tools to the person who makes or buys them. He also knows what liens his various relatives have upon his property and what liens he has
[685] upon the property of his relatives. He has learned that if he disregards the property rights of others he may expect them to punish him if they catch him, but he has also learned during childhood that one may often thieve without being caught, and few Kwoma adults are above stealing if they are sure they will not be discovered.

423 It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma man is expected to
462 defend property rights in land. This duty falls upon him, his adult male relatives, the men of the subtribe, and the men of the tribe as a whole; women and children have no direct concern in the matter. A man's duties in the defense of property rights depend upon who transgresses them and under what circumstances such transgression takes place, and upon his membership in the tribe, subtribe, hamlet, lineage, and family line.

423 The Peilunga Range and the adjacent swamps are owned
619 by the Kwoma tribe as a whole, and as a member of this tribe a man is expected to defend this territory against conquest
[721] by another tribe. Such conflict rarely occurs, but a struggle
[715] over land in which all the subtribes of Kwoma banded together to annihilate and drive from the Peilunga Mountains a tribe who at one time shared the territory with them occurred during the lifetime of the grandfathers of the present
[648] generation. Minor disputes over boundaries with the tribes contiguous to Kwoma do not, however, concern the tribe as a

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man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house, plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify this principle it is necessary to show the relation between these descent groups and land.

Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its male members build their houses. The exact site is decided by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with respect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sections belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

The responsibility for defending property rights in land, produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life. He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[18] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[18] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

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from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowär, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

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885 if he would take care of his wife, Mbora, during his absence.
602 Wof agreed, and Mbora came to stay with him. When War
835 returned, someone gossiped to him that Wof had taken ad-
578 vantage of the situation and had had sexual relations with
837 Mbora. War accused Wof of adulterous behavior and threatened to spear him. Wof ran away, but his wife stood her ground and counterattacked War with an adz, wounding him in the arm. In still another instance War's wife complained that while gathering firewood she had been sexually attacked by his *brother*, Takawur. War set out with a spear after Takawur, and would have killed him had he not fled from the tribe. He still lives in exile.

421 Fighting between *brothers* sometimes results from eco-
578 nomic conflicts. The responsibility for maintaining his prop-
602 erty against theft and trespass, which a man assumes as an
593 adult, sometimes generates enough antagonism between
[885] *brothers* to overcome communal disapproval and their early training against fighting one another. The following case illustrates such a conflict. Kwal and Daw, two brothers in their early thirties, lived in adjoining houses. One day, while Kwal was away working, Daw climbed an areca palm which they owned in common and began to gather the nuts. Kwal's wife told Daw to stop, as the nuts were not yet ripe, and, when he paid no attention, began to insult him. Daw, stung by her insults, climbed down the tree and beat her with the handle of a spear. When Kwal returned home and was told by his wife how Daw had treated her, he set upon his brother with a stave, and the two battled until Daw received a severe blow on his head.

578 The reaction of the community indicates the sanction on
593 fraternal aggression. Daw and Kwal shouted angrily at one
626 another during the fight, and when the former received the blow on his head he cried out as though he were mortally wounded. As soon as the sounds of the fracas were heard, nearly everyone in the hamlet rushed to the scene. When I arrived, the battle was over and several persons were standing by each contestant. Mes was supporting Daw, who stood trembling with blood flowing down his cheek from a cut in his

231 Kwiya came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told me
682 that the dog had died because someone had tried to poison both Mar and Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just [766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had [262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a net bag and hung in a tree. If Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.
231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

224 March 26, 1937. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw
[231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and caught him by the hand. Yat was nearby and came up and speared it, killing it, but sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and Hay and Awambaka went to Uranbaj to make payment on Hay's wife to be.

578 April 2, 1937. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth
421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Owiyap because he had been cutting
[602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his mam (mother's brother). It is also War's mam and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants reparation. Owiyap says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect right to the sago since his mam told him he could cut it. He has decided that what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of obligation to pay mam at hant sugwiya. He is afraid that if he does not pay War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark from me which he considers to be enough.